the Shilluk kings.[1] It is easy to determine because the shrines of dead kings are still maintained to-day where they were born and brought up. I would further suggest that the maternal descent of princes may be of great significance in that it may be the association of maternal lineages with settlements which attaches local loyalties to a particular prince or to a particular branch of the royal house. It is therefore important that the maternal clans of the Shilluk kings should be recorded by some future observer.

The Shilluk statement that kings should be put to death if they grow old or become sick and their further statement that any prince may at any time challenge the king to mortal combat, in which the king may not call for help, cannot, I think, like the mode of succession, be understood except in relation to the political structure as a whole. There is only traditional evidence that any king has ever been killed in either way but, as Mr Howell and Mr Thomson point out,[2] the belief that kings have been, or might be, so killed has political implications. The assertion that a sick or old king should be killed probably means that when some disaster falls upon the Shilluk nation the tensions inherent

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 59–136. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 11.

643 in its political structure become manifest in the
578 attribution of the disaster to his failing powers.
669 The unpopularity which national misfortune brings on a king enables a prince to raise rebellion. The belief that a king may legitimately be assassinated by a personal rival is not substantiated by recent Shilluk history any more than the belief that he may be put to death, but it draws some support from tradition and from anxiety on this score shown by the king and his attendants and from the precautions he takes to protect himself against assassination, especially between his election and investiture and during the ceremonies of investiture. However, the evidence suggests that the anxiety may not be expressed, nor the precautions taken, solely on account of the king's feelings of insecurity but partly, if not chiefly, because he is compelled by tradition to act furtively. Moreover, it is difficult to reconcile the tradition that kings were killed in this fashion with the account we have of royal election and investiture. On the other hand there seems little doubt that Shilluk kings generally met a violent death. My own [114] opinion is that we must interpret Shilluk statements about the matter as indicating not that any prince may slay the king on his own initiative, as

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2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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case, while exogamy is generally observed, the association of particular groups of men and animals seems to make no great emotional appeal to the Shilluk—to be but little loaded with affect—compared with the similar feelings among the Dinka. We may also refer to the suggestion put forward by Hofmayr,[1] that the incoming Shilluk had a definite totemic system, which became less important as the cult of Nyakang developed and the newcomers mixed with the earlier inhabitants of what is now the Shilluk country. Evidence for or against this hypothesis may be forthcoming when we know more of the beliefs of the Luo and Anuak. We therefore leave the subject with the observation that the existence of a partial totemism of the Dinka pattern among the Shilluk would be explained if the earlier inhabitants absorbed by Nyakang and his horde—it will be remembered that these included animals which he turned into men—were Dinka, or folk with kindred beliefs.

Dr. Tucker has given us some interesting information which, though it does not actually concern totemism, might at first sight be confused with it and is worthy of further investigation. The inhabitants of a village, Pathuor, mark a scorpion several inches in length in raised cicatricial tissue on the shoulder—left for men and right for women so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth. The reason they give is that they "desire to cultivate the strength of the scorpion"; yet they kill without scruple scorpions that they find in their huts. Other designs scarred on the shoulder, described by Dr. Tucker, include the horse, tortoise, aeroplane, and the sun. He reports a most curious instance of cicatrization as a result of a village quarrel. One village, Paalo, decided that it would no longer eat the fish *okok*, because the village Pajur, with which it was at enmity, is situated at the edge of a creek where many *okok* are caught. The Paalo proceeded to represent an *okok* in raised cicatrices on the shoulder; Pajur retaliated by avoiding lemons—because Paalo, living near the mission, grows lemons—and they scarred lemons on their shoulders. This was about a year ago; goodwill now reigns between the villages, and consequently the *okok* and the lemon are no longer avoided.

Turning now to the king and royal family, we would emphasize that the Shilluk king is the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler, and that to separate his functions—as for the sake of clarity we are about to do—is an artificial device. Nevertheless, we shall now

[1] Op. cit., 233.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



of a wife to the deceased will take place at the grave-side. After this the woman is considered as related to the dead man's family. Later she will really marry, but no statement is made as to whether cattle are exchanged at the grave-side marriage.[1]

A Shilluk may have intercourse with the wife of any man whom he calls *nwa*, that is to say, his own brother by another mother, his father's brother's son, or his clansmen of his own generation. He may claim the same privilege from the wives of his own father (except his mother) and of all those men whom he addresses as *wa*. A father will know that his son is consorting with his wife, and will go to another hut and say nothing about it. The attitude of our informants could be expressed thus: "Why should the father object? Surely it is better that his son should do this than go to other women, when he would be obliged to pay the fine for adultery?"

With regard to access to the wife of an *nwa*, a young married man said that if he found that an *nwa* had been to his wife while he was away he might feel very angry, there might be bad talk, but that would be all. The chief would say to him, "He is your *nwa*. It is all right." And he would accept this, whereas if it had been a stranger he would try to spear him. A young unmarried man who was exercising his rights towards the wife of his *nwa* (actually his father's brother's son) said that his *nwa* (the husband) knew, and that he made no objection and was friendly towards him. A child of such a union always belonged to the woman's husband, and any idea of it belonging to the wife's lover was ridiculed.

Any attempt towards intimacy with the wives of *uma*, *umia*, *una*, *oka* or *kwa* would be considered worse than adultery, and it was believed that the partners in guilt would die. Mr. Heasty states that intercourse with the wife of an *ora* would be looked upon in the same way.

About the sixth month of pregnancy a wife leaves her husband —for intercourse should now cease—and returns to her parents' house, where her child is born. Hofmayr states that both husband and wife are "unclean" until a few days after the birth of the child,[2] while Westermann notes that it is considered shameful for a woman to conceive during lactation;[3] if such a thing occurs it is usually supposed to be due to adultery, presumably because conduct leading

[1] Op. cit., 293.
[2] Op. cit., 272. A pregnant woman is distinctly dangerous; we heard of the death of a child, already ill, whose death was attributed to the visit of a pregnant woman to the house.
[3] Op. cit., xxiii.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



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weighty ceremonies, in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an important part of the duties of the witch-doctor; vide page 172. All the youths and boys over ten years accompany the herds, leaving their homes for several weeks or even months, and enjoying the free life in temporary huts. When after the first rains the new grass springs up, they return home. The struggle for the best pasture grounds very often becomes the cause of bitter quarrels, and has in the past not unfrequently led to tribal wars.

231 GOATS SHEEP FOWLS DOGS

The Shilluk goats have rather high legs, they almost unvariably look thin and not well fed; their colour is mostly grey, but black ones too are not unfrequent. The sheep have no wool, but hair. They have a kind of mane on shoulder, neck and breast, the rest of the body being covered with short hair. Most sheep are white, brown-white, or black-white. — A race of small fowls is kept, but the natives do not make much of them; many chickens are stolen by snakes and other small animals. — Dogs are very numerous, they are a kind of greyhound, of red or yellow colour, and have a black, long snout. They are exceedingly quick in running and most clever in jumping. They overtake gazelles with easiness, and are much used in hunting.

224 HUNTING [411]

Hunting is practised by all men occasionally, but is, as a rule, not very successful. They use spears, clubs, and traps in killing or catching animals. Sometimes, chiefly in procuring animals whose skins form part of the revenue of the king, all the people of a village assemble for a hunting match, vide page 125; a large circle is formed, and the animals inside it, when wishing to escape, are killed. When an animal is wounded, but runs away, they will persecute it for days, till it breaks down. The skin of a killed leopard belongs to the king, and could, at least formerly, be worn by privates only by special permission of the king. A lion's skin is considered as evil, and is not worn.

[643]

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Hippopotamus hunting is done by combined parties in canoes, harpooning the animal and dispatching him with spears, when he comes to the surface to breathe.

226 FISHING [177]

Their way of fishing is that with the round barbed spear, and with traps, which are made of corn stalks and reed. Fish-spearing is done in muddy water, where they cannot see anything below the surface, and therefore cannot aim. But nevertheless by this rude mode they sometimes have good results, the fish in the White Nile and Sobat being numerous and large. Sometimes they carry on fishing during the night time by holding burning grass-torches over the water, and thus enticing the fish, which are then speared. In recent time nets and fishhooks are bought from the white people, and are employed in fishing.

463 HANDICRAFTS

The Shilluks practise a great number of crafts, which are carried on in families for generations, the father and mother imparting their skill to their children.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



535 circle. Then the girls rush into this ring, each looking out for the man she intends to favour. She draws up in front of him, so that they look each other in the face; again two or four rows are formed, and the same dance begins anew, accompanied by drumming and singing.

The dances are in many cases repeated on four successive afternoons or nights; on the fourth day they frequently end in quarrels or real fights. The cause of this is the young men of one village casting their eyes on the girls of another village, and thus arousing jealousy. In such fights clubs are used, in exceptional cases also spears.

535 541 [Of a great war-play which was performed in honour of the missionaries, Dr. Giffen in "The Egyptian Sudan" gives the following description: "The first intimation we had of their coming, or rather of their presence, was a whoop and the sound of a horn that sent a chill, and kept it shooting up and down the spinal column. We rushed out on the veranda, and saw at the foot of our hill, and only a few rods away, that the clans had assembled. There were about one hundred men and boys with their spears and war clubs, their bodies shining with oil, and their spears shining from vigorous rubbing, while their faces were hideous with white and red paint of brick-dust and ashes. They kept leaping in the air, yelling and blowing that soul-sickening horn. Little by little they came toward us, stooping low, hiding behind trees, gliding back and forth until they were in front of the house. Then I stepped out and smiled at them, while suddenly with a yell that was not earthly, they sprang in the air, the first line made as if throwing the spear, and suddenly dropped down for the following ranks. Again they all sprang up into the air, yelling, dancing, singing, and brandishing spears, then circled around the house and attacked from another quarter.

These manoeuvers were kept up for some time, and they grew more excited and more wild all the while. Then, at a command from their chief, they ceased and began to dance. Dancing with the Shulla (Shilluk) means jumping up and down in the same spot, accompanied with a sort of chanting sing-song, throwing the arms over their heads and flourishing spears and clubs.

Again they formed in line of battle, five ranks deep, with a front of twenty, each man with spear and shield. The horn sounded the advance, and away they charged to the Doctor's house. They seemed to get the very spirit of murder in their faces. They charged in good order; the front rank, striking at an imaginary foe, dropped to their knees to allow the other ranks to strike over their heads, and then the horn sounded the

when a man dies, and he has children, his property



*539 428 578 593 626 son; the younger son (or sons) remains without anything. All the cattle too are taken by the eldest son; and if the eldest son is good, he divides the cattle between himself and his brothers, but if he is bad, he keeps all the cattle for himself. In this case hey fight, and the cattle is taken away (by force) by the younger brother (or brothers). But then all the people come, and they talk about the matter, and they say (to the younger brothers) thus: "Why, your elder brother, he refused to give you cattle, and now *you* want to keep it all? What for? If later on any debts (which your father may have contracted or which may fall on you) appear, you being his sole heir, will have to pay all; so the people divide the cattle; the elder brother gets his part, and the younger one gets his part. After that they again hold a big palaver, and they make friends; water is poured on the ground, and so they are reconciled. The eldest son gets many cows (or property), because he is the chief of the family, the younger one does not get so much. And if afterwards any debts are to be paid, the elder one will pay them, the younger remaining free. The younger brother marries a wife with his cattle; that is all, thus the matter is settled.

*539 587 768 611 The wives of the dead man are treated (done with) thus: the elder brother of the dead man comes and takes one, and the younger brother also comes and takes one.[1] And if they beget children from these wives, they belong to the family of the dead man; they are (like) his (own) children (they live in the house of the eldest brother.) The eldest wife of the deceased, the mother of the children, remains with the eldest brother. — So is it exactly.

## 18. Murder.

*539 *Dāṇ lɛ́pè, ywódɛ́, ɛ bíɛ̀ wòk, ka kɛ̀l, ka chɛ́kì kèlò, ka ŋan ɛni e rɛ́ŋò, ka biɛ bɛ kwɔ̀p: yá nɛ́ka ɖāṇ a war! Ká bùl gɔ̂ch, ka tɛ̄rɔ biɛ wòk, ka tyɛ̀n a mɛn kɛ́te bɛ yɛ́kɛ́ jam, gɛ kân. Ka tyɛ́kɛ̀ bɛ̄nɔ, leń riɛ́; ka fach yâk, gyɛn mâk, ka byɛl kɛ̀l. Ka tɛ̄rɔ bɛ̄nɔ, ɖɔk a kɛ̀l fɔ̄te Jaṅ. Ka ńi y dɔk leńe riɛ́, ká ɖɔ̀k dùòk. Ka ɖɔk aryɛu gɔ́ń yi jāgɔ, ka mūje riɛ́, ka riɛ́ e wɛ̂rò, ká è kò: kɛ́t, chól! Ka tɛ̄rɔ chùdò, ka mɛn e kānɔ ɖeaṅ, ka mɛn e kānɔ ɖeaṅ, ka ɖɔk e tûmò, ga pyārɔ. Ka chwɔk wúr, ka e bɛ̄nɔ, ka biɛ yi jāgɔ, kine: kwɔ́p bɛ̀dà dì? Kine: kwɔf á ţùm. Ka ɖɔk kɛ̀l, ka gɛ ţyɛ́r, ka gɛ mūjɔ ki dyɛk mɔk kwache tyɛn̄ riɛ́. Ka tyɛn̄ riɛ́ yiɛ́ńò, kine: ɖāṇ rach! Ka nɛ̄kɛ̀ ki ɖeaṅ mɛ̄kɔ, ka ɖɔk kɛ̀l, ka tyɛn̄ riɛ́ e bɛ̄nɔ, kɛta Fashōdɔ ki tyɛn̄ ɖāṇ, tyɛn̄ ɖāṇɔ ţɔ̄te ɖɔk abich. Ka riɛ́ kɛ̀lɔ ɖɔk abich, wɛ́ɛ akyɛl ywɔk ńál ɛńí.* A man hides in an ambush; when he perceives his adversary, he comes out and stabs him, and he stabs him a second time. Then this man (the murderer) runs away home, and comes to tell the people of his village: "I have killed a man last night." Then the drum is beaten, the people come out from their houses, and

*539 682

[1] The sons marry their father's wives, but not their own mother.

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



tion, from which he may have deducted recognized fees for his services in the same way as the Nuer and Dinka functionaries did, or did he appropriate the cattle to himself as head of the State? Was homicide a crime against society of which the *reth* was the central representative, or was it merely a private delict? These questions are relevant and fundamental to the whole problem of the nature of Shilluk law and the position of the monarchy.

As among other Nilotic people, we are faced with the difficulty of finding out how homicide was composed before the advent of the present Government. Among the Shilluk it would really be necessary to have information dating back to a period before the advent of the Turkish régime in 1867. It is doubtful, of course, whether the Turks ever had sufficient control over the Shilluk to have any direct influence on their laws and legal procedures, but since they attempted to administer the country through the agency of the *reth*, at any rate during some periods of their administration, they doubtless influenced him in this particular connexion. Except for vague references to the existence of homicide, to internecine strife, and the warlike character of the Shilluk, I know of no precise mention of this subject in early literature.

*Blood-feuds and inter-settlement fighting*

Shilluk settlements have certain distinctive characteristics including the restriction of age-set names and the ritual of the age-grade system within the settlement. Although now fast disappearing, and no longer of great significance owing to the repressive policy of the Government, the primary function of the age-grade organization seems to have been military.[1] Hofmayr on this subject says:

> Every man is a soldier and literally always under 'arms'. Every Shilluk who has ceremonially danced, is a warrior as long as he is able to bear arms. They form groups. Every settlement is independent with its own *buny* (principal singer and president). Different settlements combine and sally forth under the leadership of the eldest *buny* against their powerful enemies.[2]

The *buny* or *bung*[3] is, within the settlement, the leader of organized hostilities, which have been frequent between Shilluk settlements. His function in this connexion is brought out again and again in official documents and the attitude of the Administration has throughout been hostile. We read, for example, in the records of the Shilluk Chiefs' Council that 'The *reth* is opposed to them all as a subversive influence, but there are evidently some Chiefs who are afraid of them. Young *buny* who give trouble shall be punished and turned out.'[4] Again, in 1947:

> A *buny*, or war-lord in Shilluk, is a social institution which has been forbidden for six years in Shilluk country, and the bar is well known. . . . The *buny* . . . is essentially a leader of the youth of a section, i.e. the warrior class. It is said that in the old days, when there was little public security and each section had to look after itself, the *buny* was a useful functionary, and in so far as he co-ordinated the warriors of a section this was doubtless so. Now, any 'class consciousness' on the part of the warriors must have an aggressive tendency as it can

[1] Howell, op. cit., p. 57.

[2] Hofmayr, op. cit.

[3] Cf. the Dinka word *buny* or 'expert'—though among the Shilluk the term is restricted to the age-set leader, whose duties are primarily military. See also Howell, op. cit., p. 60.

[4] Records of Shilluk Chiefs' Council meeting 1934 (unpublished).

9:Howell E-5 (1937-1950) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



701 have no value in defence.[1] The *bany* is the symbol of this aggressive spirit. The *bany* himself
578 is frequently an elderly man, and not a 'fire-brand' and his functions are passive. He is
624 appointed, just like any other Chief, and when his people go to war he is carried as a mascot on a bed. He takes no active part and, like most Shilluk institutions of a seditious nature, the *bany*, like the *ajirath*, is powerless in himself and depends on public support.

578 On this occasion Nyigir settlement appointed a *bany* and the Chief failed to report the
701 matter to the *reth*, or to the District Commissioner. A few days later Nyigir carried their *bany* into Golbainy, the neighbouring settlement to the north, and behaved in an aggressive manner, singing and carrying their shields. This challenging demonstration was reported in Fashoda settlement next day, though the royal capital was avoided. The *reth* himself, hearing
[643] singing of which he had not been notified personally, intervened between Nyigir, lined up on their border and carrying their *bany*, and Fashoda who were mobilizing to defend themselves . . . An old feud exists between Nyigir and Fashoda. In the time of *reth* Nyidhok (*circa* 1840) Nyigir attacked and burned the Royal Village of Fashoda. In 1917 Nyigir killed a Government policeman and assistance had to be obtained from Malakal and Tewfikia (where the mounted police had recently gone from Kodok). Nyigir is the largest Shilluk section, and has a strong element of intractable *kwareth*, all closely related and descendants of *reth* Awin, who, I know from experience, are hard to control. As far as I can judge this was not a seditious movement against the *reth* himself, but a major fight round Fashoda might have led to anything.[2]

578 I have quoted this incident, as it is recorded, not as evidence of subversive action
643 against the person of the *reth*, or any threat to depose him, but because it is clear that the *reth* is concerned, even had the incident been farther removed than his own capital, in maintaining peaceful relations between the settlements. Further, the incident is typical of the hostilities which have so frequently occurred and been sustained for long periods. Referring to *reth* Fadiet's time (1903–17) Hofmayr says:

175 There was a great fight between Owaci and Tworo. Banholzer relates: 'A man from
628 Owaci had been bewitched in Tworo and was kept in a village. They asked him how many men had been killed in the last fighting, but he refused to answer. Thereupon he was murdered and his body thrown into the river and anchored by wooden pegs, but the body broke away and floated downstream. The people of Owaci got to hear of it and caused the great fight in which many Tworo people were killed. The survivors fled to the other bank of the river and until now the Tworo people say they are allowed to kill Owaci people as the price of blood.'[3]

This feud, referred to by Hofmayr in 1905, is of particular interest because there are accurate records of its continuance later. For example, between the years 1931 and 1932 there were thirteen incidents of clashes and several of homicide, and during this period twenty-seven men of Thworo and nineteen of Owaci were killed and larger numbers were wounded. The feud was finally settled in 1932 by a peace cere-
[643] mony performed by the *reth* which will be described later.

These feuds, and in particular the feuds between Owaci and Thworo, have been
628 mentioned because they show a persistence which does not seem characteristic of feuds among the Nuer and the Dinka, and also because casualties were very numerous.

[1] The meaning of this statement is not clear. If there is aggression there must presumably also be defence.

[2] Thomson, W. P. G., unpublished Government Records.

[3] Hofmayr, op. cit.

11: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918)1919 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



demands a large fee, usually a cow. The patient sits down near the person who is to treat him. The latter says: «You have come near me, therefore you will not die». He then grinds up a bit of wood, and putting it in water, makes the patient drink it.

The spell of the evil eye may be cast in the presence of people, and all present even to the victim may be ignorant of what is being done, though it may be known. The man with the evil eye may be seen staring at the victim. For that reason the Shilluks do not like to have a person look them in the eye. When a person stares at a Shilluk, he usually averts his eyes, or protests.

When the evil eye has been cast on a person, he very seldom tries to discover the identity of the person who bewitched him. Should the person boast of having done it, he will be fined as though he had killed a man. The victim may have seen the person staring at him, and directly accuse him of the act, but that is not always safe, as the case is brought before a medicine man. If the person accused of casting the evil eye shows fear he is guilty, and must pay a fine equal to that paid for killing a man. If he shows no fear, it was a false accusation, and in that case the accuser must pay an equal fine for his false charge.

The motive for using the evil eye is usually envy or jealousy or anger, for the evil eye always picks a shining mark, it does not fall on poor people, nor is a poor thing bewitched. A poor man may occasionally be the victim of the evil eye, but it is always an accident, as he has eaten food that has been bewitched to catch a richer person. They take some precautions to avoid the evil eye.

If a person has some very choice food, it is covered so that the evil eye may not fall on it. Food is very often bewitched, but it is usually meat or fish that is tainted, and it is very seldom that food made from grain is affected. Food that has had the evil eye cast on it can be made fit to eat by giving some of it to a dog. They say that the dog takes off the eye. The milk of a cow that has been affected can be cleansed by taking some of it in a vessel, and pouring it on a fire. The fire is put out, and from that time the milk of that cow is safe to use. If these precautions are not taken, the food will cause nausea. After the nausea has passed, evil consequences may remain, or a person may be all right.

182 583 591 her. The inconvenience of this arrangement acts as a spur to the husband to complete the payments as quickly as possible in order to get his wife home to do the cooking.

585 848 Thus a marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a concomitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of the cattle payments but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. Incidentally if the wedding dance is proved to have been held this is usually sufficient proof of the acceptance of the sheep, so that the question at issue is usually whether or not the wedding dance was held. Naturally evidence about this, which is a function attended by a large gathering, is usually forthcoming.

585 [684] It is not always so, however, particularly where the marriage under dispute occurred some twenty years previously. In such circumstances if it is proved as a fact that more than four head of cattle have been paid then, since four head of cattle is the maximum payable for seduction, a strong presumption is raised that the union was a true marriage. Analogously a contrary presumption is raised if it appears that not more than one or two head have been paid, a presumption which would be rebutted only by proof that a wedding dance has been held.

586 [848] A marriage in which only a few head of cattle are paid is often dissolved since the woman's *gol* are apt to get tired of waiting and to marry her to another man. In such case the children born of the dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived. This question will receive a more detailed consideration later.

### Customs Surrounding Marriage.

586 [578] Surrounding the elements necessary to the creation of the marriage tie is a mass of traditional procedure which serves to solemnise and make marriage as permanent as may be. Divorce entails a chain of acrimonious litigation not only wearisome to the litigants but likely to cause family disruption.

18: Howell E-5 (1937) 1941 FJ23 Shilluk-FJ23



613 The Shilluk, although he is conscious of his relationship to his widely scattered kinsmen, normally thinks in terms of his localised lineage. Thus in using the word *Kwar* he often refers to some comparatively recent ancestor, probably to the Shilluk who originally migrated to his settlement and founded his particular lineage. The emphasis here is upon the circumstances in which he is questioned. 613 Away from his settlement and speaking in tribal terms he will refer 614 to the ancestor common to all his kinsmen, in more detailed family discussions to the founder of his lineage.

Every Shilluk is thus a member of a large and scattered kinship group. He is also a member of a local lineage and is bound to it by vigorous feelings of unity fostered by proximity and common interests. 621 In contrast he is also the inhabitant of a settlement (*Podh*) and common residence within it implies something more than a neighbourly spirit. Its occupants are not a mere collection of independent lineages, for they are united by social, economic and political obligations, by the need for mutual protection and have recognised rules of behaviour to one another.

361 The Shilluk are now a sedentary tribe, though they were originally 484 nomads, and it has been said that their apparent political and social [102] cohesion in contrast to many related peoples, has been partly due to the greater facility of communication. In fact their history has [678] been one of frequent internal strife and dynastic quarrels, but it is true to say that in the rainy season, when normal communications are made difficult by the rising of the river level, they have always had an unrestricted medium of travel on the Nile itself and settlements are conveniently situated near to its banks. Shilluk villages are built in an almost continuous line along the west bank with a few scattered settlements on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. This formation, however, means that they are dispersed over a very long area, and from Fashoda in the centre, it is a considerable journey to Tonga or Muomo. Taking Shilluk country as a long narrow strip, without including the inland pastures or hunting grounds, the density of population is undoubtedly far greater than among most Nilotic tribes in the Sudan, but the length of country between the centre and

joined, whatever the new formation may be. The regrouping of sub-divisions is often the subject of heated controversy, particularly between the two sub-divisions who will be separated by the new line of distinction. It is apparently preferable to remain the highest sub-division of the newly formed lower age-set and thereby acquire special privileges and duties. At the last *Ngol* ceremony held in the settlement of *Yom Dok Alal*, the two sub-divisions between whom the distinction was to be made actually came to blows. The age-set A, having retired, participates no longer in warfare nor in the ceremonies associated with the organization.

The sub-divisions of any age-set are known in Shilluk as "head," "neck" and "middle" respectively. Thus while the "head," "neck" and "middle" sub-divisions of B occupy the same position in a new status, the two or three sub-divisions below them are "head," "neck" and "middle" of C. On ceremonial occasions when the age-sets function as such, the highest age-set is privileged to eat the back and chest of any animal provided, while the lower will eat of the hump and legs only. This division of meat is rigidly observed and any infringment is severely punished. This rule is particularly enforced at the *Ngol* when a bull is slaughtered and ceremonially divided and eaten—to emphasise the newly acquired privileges of the age-set in the higher status.

After this the newly appointed *Bañ* who will be war-leader of the senior age-set, is formally elected and is carried jubilantly round the settlement on the shoulders of his age-mates. Frequently this procession enters the territory of another settlement, the boasts of the younger warriors bring out the young men of the neighbouring district, and fighting occurs

The *Bañ* has no administrative or political functions and has no connection with the *Jago* of the settlement. It is his duty to organize mobilization and to preside at communal feasts at which the age-sets assemble. According to some informants he is assisted in the cultivation of his fields by his age-mates.

After the ceremony is over, each age-set is given a new name, usually taken from some current event or from the colour of the bull

476
to be their duty to aid him. The arrangement is merely reciprocal. 561
At the beer feast afterwards, however, the guests are arranged according 476
to their respective sub-divisions. The two senior sub-divisions present 561
enter the hut of their host before the others and it is their privilege 574
to taste the beer first and approve it. They remain in the hut for sometime for they have had an exhausting day in the fields and are thirsty. Outside the hut in the courtyard are grouped the lower sub-divisions, eagerly awaiting their share which is passed out to them when those inside are satisfied with the quality of the beer. Possibly another sub-division is then allowed to enter the hut if there is room at the back.

The sub-divisions are grouped inside the hut in ascending order of seniority and the leader of the senior sub-division present, (*Pagy*) [264] sits near the door. The *Pagy* has a special gourd which is kept full of beer by the man next him. Etiquette is rigidly observed and every-[562] one is careful to sit in the right place and take his turn at the beer. [533] No women are present except the host's wife or wives who sit at the back and serve the beer. Every age-set has its own song and this is sung by those inside the hut while the young men outside take up the chorus.

The existence within the settlement of organized age-sets limited 561 by territorial boundaries is a factor which should ensure co-ordination 571 and peace between the different lineages. The Shilluk say that age-578 mates will not fight each other. In fact this is an exaggeration for the sense of loyalty and mutual obligation between age-mates is not constant or strong. The reason for this is the rarity of occasions in which the age-set organization functions to-day and the very limited purpose to which it is put. In reality, mutual ties and observances practiced by age-mates are quite outside the deeper and more permanent ties of kinship and the Shilluk is not bothered by perpetually conflicting emotions. The age-sets do not operate as such until all lineages are bound together by a common cause apart from and in a different context to internal bickerings which are not infrequent.

Political authority is not now derived from the age-set system, 654 613 but from the powerful position in the settlement of the dominant lineage. 621

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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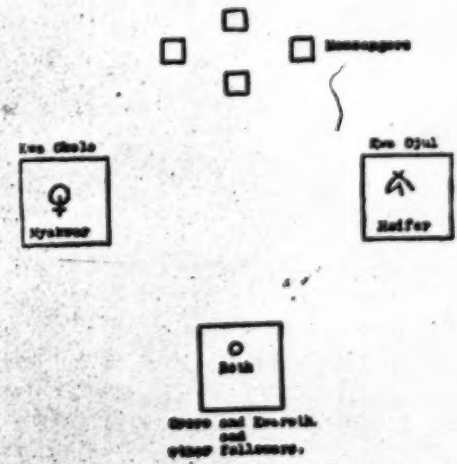
643 was cast and slaughtered. The procession did not move far. A violent quarrel broke out between the clansmen of Kwa Okelo and Kwa Mal. 578 The argument arose over the privilege of sowing cowry shells in the 614 *reth's* path on his journey to Fashoda. Kwa Mal maintained that 643 it was their traditional right to do so, but Jago Yoleiker had given the shells to the Kwa Okelo. The Kwa Mal considered themselves slighted, and *nyireth* Nyawelo, the eldest son of the late *reth*, who attempted to intervene, seemed to aggravate the dispute rather than settle it. Finally the custom of sowing cowry shells was abandoned altogether, as there was a complete deadlock between the parties concerned.

578 The procession then moved on its way down the slope to the plain below, singing and beating spear-shafts together as they went. 643 Again they halted, and here another argument arose, this time over the shield of Nyikang, which should be carried before the *reth* (Note 10), and which had been forgotten. Informants stated that this was a small shield slightly larger than those carried by girls at play, but smaller than a fighting shield. Eventually an ordinary battle shield was produced as a substitute, and the shield-bearer took up his position in front of the *reth*. The party moved on, Kwa Ojul on the right and Kwa Okelo parallel on the left, in front of them the *reth's* messengers and behind the main body of followers surrounding the *reth* himself :—

643



Preparations then began at the small village of Kujo in the settlement of Fanyidwai Pac in the southern Shilluk area. This village had been built by Dak Fadiet himself when he moved from his mother's home in Fashoda at the invitation of *kwanyireth* Gaw *wad* Ageng of Palo and was occupied by him from the age of about seventeen until his accession. The word *kujo* means literally, "I do not know" and apparently referred to his ignorance of the future and whether he would become *reth* or not, but expressed his pious hope.[1] Within this village two huts were built by him and known as his *gol dwong* (great house) and occupied by him when in residence. This is common practice with all Shilluk kings and the *gol dwong* eventually becomes the *kwogo*, shrine or tomb, and is always sited in the village of their birth or adoption. These huts were fenced around in the manner of all royal shrines in preparation for the burial. These preparations were carried out by the kinsmen of *reth* Dak under the general supervision of the *ororo*. Yet despite his wishes, which were well known, his son Adieng caused further trouble by insisting that his father should be buried in the village of Pa Loc in Famadh with which he had had close associations. He went as far as to waylay the *ororo* when they were carrying the *jumkwer*, sacred objects, in particular the ambush seat (*kwoon*) used by the *reth* and in which his spirit was said to be, to Kujo, upon which Fanyidwai, the division in which Kujo is situated and where *reth* Dak was brought up, rose in arms and only the timely arrival of the chiefs of both areas prevented a clash. It was generally accepted that Adieng was quite wrong in assuming that his father wished to be buried at Pa Loc, which would have been untraditional, and his motives are obscure.[2]

1 I have heard since that Kujo, as a hamlet, was not built until after Dak had been elected. The name Kujo therefore expresses his feeling of uncertainty before his installation at Fashoda.

2 I am indebted to Father W. Hurst, of the Mill Hill Mission, for further information on this incident. Apparently it is customary for the last *reth's* ambush seat (*kwoon*, but to be distinguished from the sacred stool, also *kwoon*, used at the installation ceremonies) to be carried to the place where his remains will finally rest almost immediately after his death. The *reth's* spirit is manifest in this seat and it is often spoken of as the *reth* on this occasion. In the case of Dak *wad* Fadiet, the seat was carried from Fashoda to Famadh where it was placed in a hut which (by the people of Famadh) was reckoned to be his future tomb. The procession was accompanied by villagers on its way, each settlement turning out to follow as far as their boundaries. During the next few days, people from all sides marched to Famadh, *be kemo reth*, "*to visit the reth.*" News soon reached the people of Fanyidwai, who descended on Famadh in force and carried off the seat and other sacred objects. In their haste, some of the sacred beads were upset on to the ground which was considered a misfortune, at any rate by the people of Famadh. It appears then that these objects must be carried to the *reth's* final resting place and where they rest, there he will be buried. *reth* Dak had always shown particular favouritism to Famadh and Pa Loc was regarded as his personal village. The custom that the *reth* should be buried in the village where he was brought up, however, appears to have prevailed.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



forth from the shrine and marched northwards to beat the bounds of Shilluk country in Muomo. The march on Fashoda then began. It is accepted custom among the Shilluk that Nyikang and his followers may seize cattle, sheep or goats which cross their path (most Shilluk are wise enough to keep them out of the way) or to demand them as offerings together with other smaller gifts from the occupants of the villages through which they pass. This licensed plundering, which is often abused beyond the bounds of piety by Nyikang's retinue, is treated by the Shilluk with admirable tolerance, for they must know that such offerings go to fill the stomachs and pockets of the *kwa* Nyikwom. It is a sacred duty cheerfully accepted. At one point on the march at Moro, however, their demands were thought to be excessive and were resisted, a demonstration which nearly ended in armed conflict and which delayed the party for a while.[a] They had left Akurwa on the 28th January and reached Adodo, south of Kodok, on the 4th February, and the next day, in accordance with custom, the *reth* fled to Debalo.

As we have seen, it is traditional for the *reth* to remain three nights in Debalo. In fact, *reth* Kur had already made it known that he did not intend to spend more than one night there, on the grounds that his father, Fafiti, had spent no more. Fafiti's break with tradition had been dictated by the fear that he might be deprived of office or killed by a rival and the natural anxiety of the administrative authorities to get through the ceremonies as quickly as possible. In those days, the likelihood of civil war was much greater and Fafiti had been urged to cut the installation ceremonies to a minimum.[b] Precedents of this kind count heavily in subsequent customary procedure and in this and in previous installations it was noticeable that each *reth* was inclined to follow the procedure of his father, not that of his immediate successor.[c] This is at least one of the explanations of the variations in detail which are apparent when we compare the installation ceremonies of those *reths* of the Shilluk of which records exist.

*Reth* Kur's decision to remain only one night at Debalo had two main effects. In the first place, fewer of those who seek absolution for the sins of the flesh (notably the seduction of unmarried girls) were able to attend, though I am told that about fifty persons presented themselves to the *reth* for this

[a] It appears that the effigy of Nyikang was damaged in the affray and had to be taken back to Akurwa for repairs.

[b] Mr. Udal writes: "When I visited the *reth* on the 26th January, he announced his intention of spending three nights at Debalo. However, when on the 2nd February there was still no definite news of the whereabouts of Nyikang, he did not attempt to disguise his irritation at the dilatoriness of the *kwa* Nyikwom and said he would follow the precedent of his father and sleep only one night at Debalo. Accordingly, after news of Nyikang's arrival at Adodo on the evening of the 4th February had reached Fashoda, *reth* Kur and Fafiti set out before sunrise for Debalo and it was arranged between the messengers of the *reth* and Nyikang that the feasts should take place on the morning of the 6th February." *Reth* Kur's impatience may have been genuine, but I do not think he would have attempted to alter established customs if he had not the precedent of his father before him.

[c] For example, see Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23



*Jago* Yorkiker, the chief of Got Nyikang, rose to make the first speech, carrying a spear in his hand. A delay occurred as the *reth*'s drummer was missing and had to be found. Then *jago* Yorkiker, followed by *jago* Thabo of Golbainy and titular chief of Got Dhiang, and other chiefs in order of precedence came forward to address the *reth* on his installation. Nearly all carried presentation spears which were thrust into the ground in front of the *reth*, though one or two, as in the case of *kwanyiveth* Abyei Anyong of Derwok, placed a head on the ground. The speeches were on the whole short, and took the form of exhortations to the *reth* to emulate his father's example and to work closely with the Government; to pay attention to his elder advisers; to visit all the Shilluk lands and to avoid favouritism; to deal fairly with the Shilluk. As each speaker finished he was applauded by the rattling of Nyikang's shield and the beating of the drum, for longer or shorter periods according to the quality, or perhaps, acceptability, of the speech. Those who were most honoured were accompanied back to their place by the shield-bearer before the latter turned to signal out the next speaker. Last of all the chiefs to speak were *jago* Ongwany *wad* Kak and *jago* Kwathi *wad* Kudjok of Tonga, the traditional wardens of the Shilluk Marches at the northern and southern extremities of their country.

Finally the *reth* rose to speak. He walked forward to where rows of spears had been stuck in the ground and there, amid reverent interjections of *wau* from the assembled Shilluk, he harangued the chiefs for their failure to produce the cattle of the late *reth* which were his just due.*

As he spoke he paced backwards and forwards along the lines of spears, evoking grudging grunts of agreement to his apparently rhetorical questions. Having delivered his speech, he stepped back, took hold of the ceremonial sword and made passes over the back of the white bull with a black face which had been tethered on his right. A Shilluk then speared the bull, again with considerable lack of skill, and the *reth* departed on his tour of the royal houses of Fashoda. A slight altercation broke out over who was to have which spears presented by the Chiefs, but the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fadil, the thirty-second *reth* of the Shilluk, was over.

* As explained in a previous article (*S.N. & R.*, Vol. 33, Part 1) the immediate and personal heirs of the late *reth* had attempted to conceal many of the cattle which are royal property and should go to his successor.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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628 raided in turn, his father speared to death and his brother so seriously wounded that he died shortly afterwards in Malakal hospital. The fact that one of the dead was the chief minister of the king did not deter the attackers from taking his life in retribution for the outrage they considered done to their family. In Detwok, over thirty miles away, we felt the repercussions of this awful tragedy. One of the teachers was a relative of the first aggressor, and he went in fear of his life for weeks after the unhappy event, and despite my assurances that no one would dare raid the mission, he insisted on carrying his spears around with him, even to the schoolroom and the chapel. The affair took place during the school holidays, and the boys from Lul who attended the Central or Teachers' Training Schools at Detwok did not return for some weeks after the new term had started, refusing, until the culprits on both sides had been arrested and security had been restored, to leave the safety of their villages, lest they be ambushed on the road and killed.

628 578 Sometimes a feud develops between two villages originating perhaps in some trivial incident now completely forgotten in the passage of time, but the principle is always the same: some injustice, real or imaginary, was suffered by one individual at the hands of another and such a thing can never be permitted to go unrequited. Reprisals follow from one side and the other, and a bitter rivalry springs up between the respective villages of the original antagonists, trouble breaks out periodically resulting in a little bloodletting and a few cracked skulls on both sides, police are [689] called in to restore order and to whisk the offenders off to prison, the village responsible for the breach of the peace is fined a number of cattle and both sides settle down to an uneasy truce until the next outbreak.

Such an antagonism exists between Detwok and its neighbour Pabiu. The quarrel originated over half a century ago when one village or the other—I could never discover which—destroyed or damaged or in some way desecrated the war drum of the other. The bitterness between the two villages grew with the passage of the years and there were

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occasional outbreaks of fighting. An incident which might have had serious consequences occurred in 1940, shortly after I had arrived at Detwok. The young bloods of Detwok, after a merry evening of drinking and dancing, thought to round off a perfect day with a raid on the ladies of Pabiu. All good fun and high spirits, but the men of Pabiu, not unnaturally, objected to their daughters and sisters being taken for a midnight stroll, and the father of one girl stabbed her aggressor in the throat. The attackers, suddenly sobered by this serious end to their pranks, retreated to their own village, carrying their wounded companion. The drum was sounded, the village roused and the men armed themselves for the raid that Pabiu might make on them for the insult offered to its womenfolk, or for the attack that they would most surely launch on Pabiu should the wounded man die. Fortunately tragedy was averted by the good sense of the chief of Detwok. Knowing that he would be unable to restrain his angry subordinates if the man did die, he sent a runner to the mission for medical assistance and another to Kodok for the police. Mother R. immediately went to Detwok and by prompt first aid saved the wounded warrior's life and the two villages a great amount of extra trouble and grief. The arrival of the police in the morning and the removal of the originators of the mischief restored peace, at least temporarily, to the neighbourhood.

Later the same year, the Assistant District Commissioner chanced to drop in at Detwok. His visit was most unfortunate from the village's point of view, for he found a couple of Sudanese witch doctors plying a brisk trade with, not merely the connivance, but the positive approval of the chief. He and the medicine men were promptly arrested and he was deposed from his chieftainship. He had been not merely chief of Detwok but the District chief, and now, to the chagrin of all true Detwokians, that coveted honour was transferred to Pabiu.

The year 1943 gave Detwok fresh cause for resentment and a fresh longing for revenge over their hated rivals. The rains had failed and the mid-year food shortage was even

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578 628 [737] [648] more severe than usual. The government set up a grain distribution centre at Pabiu, since it was the chief village of the district. Pabiu waxed fat and rejoiced; Detwok snarled in anger and groaned with hunger and metaphorically tightened its belt and longed for the day when it would triumph over its arrogant rival.

Two years later, in September 1945, things boiled up again, and I thought that bloodshed on a large scale was unavoidable. A dance was being held at Pabiu and, since for a long time peace had reigned between the two villages, the people from Detwok attended. I usually permitted the [535] schoolboys to go to these harmless afternoon dances, and was horrified when they came streaming back an hour before the usual time, crying that fighting had broken out and that men had been killed. There were boys from both Detwok and Pabiu attending the school and these, fearing that the mission would be raided during the night by one side or the other, refused to stay there and fled to the sanctuary of their homes and the protection of the spears of their fathers and brothers. Fortunately, things were not as bad as they appeared at first. People from all the surrounding villages [535] attend these frequent dances, and among those enjoying themselves on this happy afternoon were the people from Alel, a large village three miles south of Detwok. During the dance a man from Detwok came face to face with one from Alel who, it seemed, had in company with his friends waylaid the Detwokian some time previously and beaten him up. Excited by the dancing, the Detwok warrior, suddenly confronted by his enemy, could not restrain himself. His spear flashed and the other man fell wounded. Immediately there was uproar. Alel was by way of being allied to Pabiu, and the two villages promptly joined forces against Detwok. A scrimmage ensued during which blows were struck and a few spear wounds were inflicted, but only one man—from Detwok—was seriously wounded. In the face of superior numbers Detwok had to withdraw, followed by the taunts of the victors, but swearing revenge. Two days of tension followed during which the Sisters were kept busy

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tending the hurts of the wounded. It seemed that the affair had ended; the boys began to creep back to school and we breathed freely again. The next morning, however, there was a fresh alarm. One of our Christians ran breathlessly into the mission and begged me to send at once to Kodok for assistance and to go myself to Pabiu to stop what might develop into a battle royal. It appeared that Alel was to hold a dance that afternoon and Pabiu was going to attend in force. To do so they must necessarily pass Detwok, and the braves of that village swore that they would do so only over their dead bodies, and that if they attempted it, Detwok would strew the road with their corpses. To this Pabiu joyfully replied that it would enjoy the task of putting Detwok in its proper place, under the earth, once and for all.

I immediately sent a runner to Kodok and after lunch, for if I was going to suffer martyrdom I thought there was no sense in doing so on an empty tummy, I went forth to try and keep the Pax Britannica till what time others, more competent, could arrive to enforce it. I went first to Pabiu, and found the warriors happily preparing for the dance. Faces were being carefully painted, bodies oiled and smothered in red dust, dancing skins being donned and all the paraphernalia so dear to the Shilluk heart and so essential to the Shilluk dance ready at hand; bells, shells, bracelets, beads, strips of gaudy cloth—anything indeed that could provide a riot of sound and colour; but I saw too that spears were being carefully sharpened and polished, and the large war shields not usually carried on the occasion of an ordinary dance had been brought out.

I approached the groups and received and returned the usual greetings. I asked them if there was a dance on and they replied that they were going to a dance at Alel. I pointed out that it would be more prudent if they stopped at home and that it was asking for trouble if they encroached on Detwok's territory. To this they replied that they were going to dance and that if Detwok wanted to start anything, that was Detwok's affair and not theirs. Then I went to the chief, and told him that I had sent to Kodok for police and that

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578 628 he had better restrain his young men before something happened that they would all be sorry for. He said that he could not prevent them from going to a dance, that they did not intend to molest anybody, but that they had a right to defend themselves if anyone attacked them. For an hour I argued, pleaded, cajoled and threatened, but without success. Then to my relief the chief proposed a solution that might satisfy everybody. He could not prevent his underlings from going to the dance, he said, but if there was no dance there would be no point in going. Could I stop Alel from holding the dance? I agreed to try and was about to depart when a messenger arrived from Alel to say that the dance was off. It appeared that my runner to Kodok had called at Alel on his way and had told the villagers where he was going and why. They, prudently wishing not to become involved in the Detwok-Pabiu dispute more deeply than they were already, called the affair off. The day was saved and we all breathed freely once more.

For the past several years there has been no incident of note between the two villages, but one never knows when an act of 'justice' or 'injustice' on one side or the other will cause a new flare up.

578 628 648 Poor Detwok! Poor Pabiu! Poor old Shilluk. He only wants to be left alone to mete out his own type of 'justice', as his forefathers did before the interfering foreigners came into his country. But he knows that should he raise his stick to bring it down with a satisfying thud on his enemy's head or plunge his spear into his body, a wrathful District Commissioner will swoop down on him and, figuratively speaking, will take him by the shoulders and shake him until his teeth rattle.

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586 she would be ignominiously bundled off home. The husband, like an indignant customer who has made an unsatisfactory purchase, would demand his dowry back. The girl's family would strenuously resist the claim and a long and [578] acrimonious dispute would follow. The husband might attempt to recover his cattle by force, and eventually the [692] case would be settled by the Reth's court; a compromise would be reached, judgment would be given for the plaintiff, but one or two cows would remain with the girl's family, and so would the unfortunate girl herself. Similarly, should the young bride die childless, the contract is deemed not to have been fulfilled, and the husband will demand that the bride wealth be returned to him. If the lady, faithless jade, should leave her lawful spouse for another man, the outraged husband does not leap up in righteous anger, seize his spear, pursue the erring couple and demand satisfaction of the seducer of his wife's affections, but he does make a bee-line for his father-in-law's kraal, and in the height of his wrath will demand not only the cattle, but also the sheep, spears and hoes and all the other little trinkets and knick-knacks with which he won the family's good graces during time of courtship. Father, anxious to keep the peace and the cattle, [587] may offer his irate son-in-law another charming daughter, if he has one handy, as a substitute for the fickle one. But if such a useful article as a second daughter of marriageable age is lacking, or the husband, feeling that his matrimonial adventures in that particular family have gone far enough, should refuse the hand of the second lady, then father with a sigh will have to set about the difficult task of making his reluctant relatives give up their respective shares of the dowry and, at the same time, the equally difficult task of getting another dowry from his new son-in-law.

797 In Detwok a boy was being examined in the Catechism
58 prior to his baptism. The subject under discussion was the Sacraments and their division into those which may be received only once and those which may be repeated. All went well until the subject of Matrimony was reached. 'How often can a person receive the Sacrament of Matri-

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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765 songs the while. Since this is a more modest affair than the
535 dance for a prince or a chief, the whole company can remain in the arena during the whole afternoon. The matrons too, but not the young girls, take part in the dancing, marching in a small circle round the drums, some carrying a spear or a sword or a stick 'at the slope'.

There is a pause in the proceedings and a sudden hush
[533] falls on the gathering. The song maker who all the afternoon has been leading the singing with tremendous voice and energy, now stands by the stilled tom-toms and chants the names of those who are being commemorated that day. The drumming and singing, the dancing and the marching recommence and continue until about an hour before sun-
[273] set. Beer in large quantities has been prepared for the hoarse and dust-choked warriors, and as they drink, the
765 cattle are distributed among the various villages taking part. Each beast is slaughtered near the hut of one of those whose death is the reason for the celebration, and the meat is divided by the village chiefs and portions allotted to different householders in each village. As one may well imagine, the
[578] division, first of the cattle and then of the meat, is not carried out in any spirit of amity and fraternal charity, but is accompanied by much wrangling and acrimony between village and village and individual and individual.

It is dark before everybody is satisfied, or rather, has got all that he is likely to get, and the dancers, some happily bearing a bloody burden, others grumbling at the smallness of their portion, stream along the road to their homes and supper. All obligations to the dead are satisfied; may they rest in peace.